Kremlin Now Admits Lenin Broke with Stalin

Daily Worker's First Mention of Lenin Testament

By Daniel Roberts

The fact that shortly before his death Lenin denounced Stalin has now been publicly admitted by the Soviet Government. It was revealed on May 18 by the Young Communist newspaper, Komsomolskaya Pravda, in what it called "A Child's Guide to Stalinism." The revelation was the sharpest attack on Stalin yet published in the Soviet Union.

"Lenin, in the last year of his life, pointed out that such negative features of Stalin's character as rudeness, lack of respect for working comrades, capriciousness and inclination toward abuse of power could lead to a violation of the rules of collective leadership," writes the youth newspaper. "Unfortunately, it happened so."

The Soviet paper did not cite the source of Lenin's attack on Stalin. This is the document known as Lenin's Testament. It urges the Soviet Communist Party "to find a way to remove Stalin" from his position of General Secretary. Although giving almost verbatim Lenin's characterization of Stalin, the Soviet newspaper failed to cite Lenin's proposal that Stalin be removed from office.

STALIN'S RISE TO POWER

The Stalin faction grabbed power right after Lenin's death and never allowed publication of the Testament. The document was permitted reading in closed sessions of the party leadership on only two occasions: once, right after Lenin's death and the other at a meeting of the CP Central Committee in 1926. This was at the height of the struggle between the Stalin faction and the Left Opposition led by Trotsky.

The document was, however, published by the Left Opposition in defiance of Stalin's GPU. The mere circulation of Lenin's Testament brought jail or deportation to many CP members fighting against the bureaucratic faction headed by Stalin. It was first published outside the Soviet Union in the New York Times on Oct. 18, 1926.

Because the New York Times reprinted the entire text of the Testament on May 19, the Daily Worker was compelled to go further than Komsomolskaya Pravda in reporting Lenin's attack on Stalin. The U.S. Stalinists were forced to acknowledge existence of the Testament, but went no further in giving facts than that. The Testament is readily available in English in a pamphlet put out by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York. The pamphlet also contains an article by Leon

(Continued on page 3)

French Workers Protest Shipping Troops to Algeria

The general hostility of the French population to the "dirty" war in North Africa, exploded into militant demonstrations May 19 in the southern French city of Grenoble.

Twenty policemen and several of the demonstrators were injured when crowds burst into the Grenoble railway station in an attempt to prevent the departure of a train bearing reservists bound for Algeria.

The fighting lasted many hours and delayed the departure of the train. Police reinforcements came from as far as the city of Lyons, some 65 miles away. The demonstrators, among them many North Africans employed in the industries of Grenoble, unbolted track sections and jammed crowbars into the switches.

1955 DEMONSTRATIONS

This demonstration against the sending of troops to North Africa is not the first one. Last fall troops bound for North Africa staged a sitdown in the Paris railway station, the Gare de Lyons, and shouted, "Morocco for the Moroccans." The Mollet government has dealt severely with several of the young soldiers involved in that incident.

If the Mollet government plans are carried out, there will be a French army of almost 400,000 troops engaged in the campaign to suppress the revolutionary Arab population in Algeria. That will be almost one soldier for every two French settlers in that region.

Because Algeria is not legally a colony or an overseas territory, but is ruled as part of Metropolitan France, the government can send draftees and reservists to that area.

THE MILITANT

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Majority of Auto Unemployed To Get No "GAW" Payments

HAIL NEGRO HEROES AT N. Y. LABOR RALLY

By William Bundy

NEW YORK, May 24 — Madison Square Garden was filled tonight as 20,000 people turned out to "salute and support the heroes of the South" in New York's greatest civil rights rally to date. The meeting, sponsored by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the NAACP and other groups, was supported by most of the area's trade unions. It was the first big civil rights turnout in the North since the Montgomery bus protest action began.

The crowd cheered as Charles Zimmerman, representing the International Ladies Garment Workers Union told of the newly formed AFL-CIO Labor Committee on Civil Rights. He said it was formed to "give more than moral backing to the fight against the White Citizens Councils."

WILL RAISE $2 MILLION

"We in the labor movement have faced the threats of secession from some unionists in the South, and we have decided that there is too much blood and too much pain invested in labor's position on civil rights to give it up now. We have decided to take a forthright stand in favor of civil rights," he said. The committee has set out to raise $2 million for use in such fights as the Montgomery bus protest.

The spirited audience, about 20% white, stayed through the five-hour program to listen to many of the famous figures in the civil rights movement.

In spite of the presence of prominent Democratic Party politicians, the Democrats, when mentioned at all, were simply lumped together with the Republicans as having betrayed the civil rights fight. The crowd was in no mood to have the meeting turned into a Democratic Party election rally.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was chairman of the meeting and the first principal speaker. He read the names of the martyred dead: The Harry T. Moores, Rev. George Lee, Lamar Smith, and so on, and the huge crowd stood in silence for their memory.

Randolph attacked the White Citizens Councils as being dangerous enemies of the labor movement and the poor Southern whites as well as of the Negro people. "We are here to support the Montgomery protest movement, and the little Negro who is being squeezed out by economic pressure of the WCC."

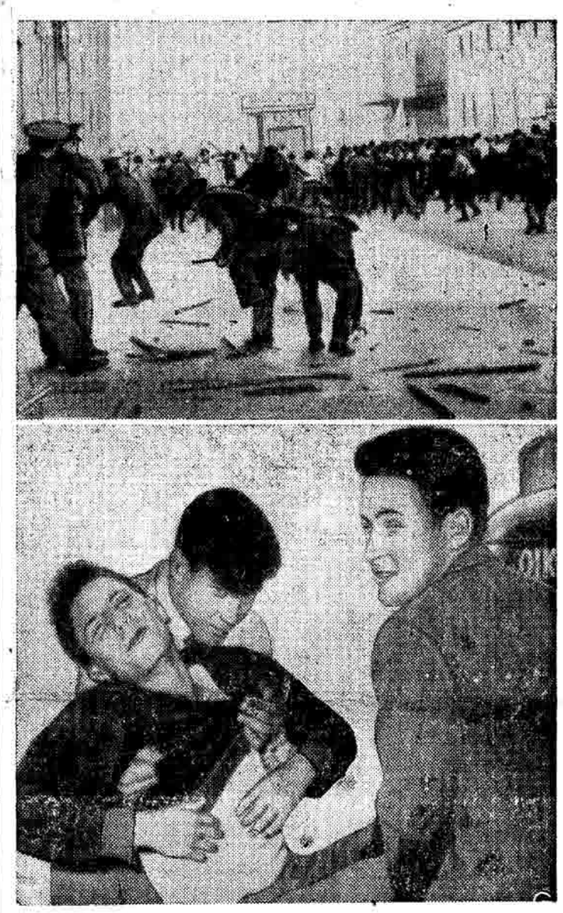
"Because of the failure of both parties, we believe Negroes should remain politically uncommitted before the November elections, so that they won't feel the Negro vote is tied up," Randolph said. He said the election policy should be to "reward our friends and punish our enemies."

JOIN HANDS IN UNION

Randolph called for all poor whites and Negro sharecroppers and workers to join hands and form trade unions and cooperatives, to become an organized economic power in the South,

(Continued on page 4)

Greeks Protest British Terror



Police (top) beat back students demonstrating in front of U.S. Information Agency offices in Athens, Greece. Three persons were killed and 124 injured in demonstrations touched off by the British execution of two Cypriote patriots. An injured student (below) is helped by two friends.

Demand for 30-Hour Work Week Grows As Jobless Total Mounts

By C. Thomas

Auto layoffs continue to throw more and more workers out of their jobs. An overwhelming majority of those laid off since the first of the year are not eligible to "supplementary unemployment benefits" under the AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers "Guaranteed Annual Wage" plan, which goes into effect on June 1.

As unemployment mounts, increasing numbers of AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers Union members are calling for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay as the only effective means of stemming the rising tide of layoffs. They are demanding that the UAW International Executive Board invoke the principle of the living agreement to reopen the contract for the inclusion of the 30 for 40 demand.

Taking cognizance of the widespread character of the layoffs the May 23 Wall Street Journal reports:

"Fisher Body division of General Motors Corp. checked 15 out of its 35 plants and found new layoffs effective last Monday, totaling about 2,000. This brought to 9,000 the number of men laid off by Fisher this year.

"Three of four Ford Motor Co. plants in the Cleveland area will close for three days next week—for Memorial Day — with about 7,500 hourly workers affected." Other plants will do likewise. This will amount to a general two-day layoff following the one-day "holiday" last week at all General Motors assembly plants.

STILL MORE IDLED

Other layoffs reported by the Wall Street Journal: "A Buick-Oldsmobile-Pontiac assembly plant in Atlanta, Ga., said it laid off 700 workers last Friday.

"A Kansas City, Kan., Buick-Oldsmobile-Pontiac plant of GM said it will announce new layoffs at the end of this week, effective next Monday . . . Its previous layoff last April, involved 700 persons.

"At Arlington, Texas, Buick-Oldsmobile-Pontiac laid off 625 workers last Thursday, bringing the plant down to slightly under 1,500," from a peak of 3,800.

"Previously announced," says the WSJ, "was a 550-man layoff for GM's Pontiac plant at Pontiac, Mich., effective this past Monday. . . Ford's assembly plant at Louisville let out 400 workers at the end of last week."

Stocks in the hands of dealers are estimated at a record high exceeding 900,000 new cars. Sales continue to decline. Production cuts, says the May 22 New York Times, indicate that "May would be the lowest output month so far this year." And the worst is yet to come. "Deepest output cuts," reports the Wall Street Journal survey, "won't occur until July, August and September, but there will be further reductions next month."

REUTHER'S PROGRAM

The auto workers are looking to their leaders to find a solution to the scourge of layoffs sweeping the industry. Walter Reuther, UAW president, is calling upon the employers to hold joint industry-wide meetings on the problem. Reuther is emphasizing that the union is not proposing collective bargaining conferences. Both labor and management, says the UAW appeal, have a "heavy moral obligation" to cooperate in finding a solution to the "alarming" unemployment situation in the farm implement and auto industries.

"We believe further," says the Reuther letter to the employers, "that management and labor, acting together in good faith and with good will, have the wisdom, the practical intelligence and the tools with which to find solutions that will alleviate the present

(Continued on page 4)

Myra Tanner Weiss Opens Tour in L. A.

LOS ANGELES, May 23 — Myra Tanner Weiss, candidate for Vice-President on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, has been campaigning energetically here this week on the opening lap of a coast-to-coast speaking tour.

On May 16 Mrs. Weiss participated in the Candidates Night program of the Community Service Organization, an important center in the Mexican-American community. Well known in the area as an SWP spokesman in a number of local election campaigns, her address was well received by the audience.

Speaking at a public meeting at the Socialist Workers city campaign headquarters May 19, Myra Weiss analysed "The Crisis in the Soviet Union and the Struggle for World Socialism." The audience included many who were hearing an SWP speaker for the first time. Their favorable reaction to what they heard was indicated by a contribution of $111 to the Socialist Campaign Fund. Chairman of the meeting was veteran labor and socialist leader V. R. Dunne, the chairman of the SWP here.

Tonight Mrs. Weiss will be interviewed by Tom Duggan on TV station KCOP on the differences between Stalinism and Trotskyism. Mrs. Weiss leaves tomorrow for the San Francisco-Oakland area for three days of campaigning.

This will be followed by a three day stop in Seattle. On June 1 Mrs. Weiss will address a Seattle audience on the subject, "The United States and the Soviet Union in 1956." The meeting will be held at 8 P. M. at 665 Main Street.

The next stop in the tour will be the Minneapolis-St. Paul area where the Vice-Presidential candidate will be from June 6 through June 8.

KEY PLANK

A key plank in the SWP platform is opposition to the Wall Street inspired cold war and the ever-present danger of World War III. The SWP views current Soviet developments as of major importance in this regard.

MYRA TANNER WEISS

The drive of the Russian workers to abolish the dictatorial power of the Kremlin bureaucracy and re-establish Soviet democracy gives powerful impetus to the movement of revolutionary workers and colonial freedom fighters everywhere. American labor must give its support to this world anti-capitalist movement.

To this end the SWP advocates opposition to the witch-hunt and the promotion of civil rights. It calls for the building of an independent labor party. The central SWP plank is the creation of a Workers and Farmers Government.

Negro Struggle Stirs Unions

By Tom Kerry

The Negro struggle for civil rights is shaking up the labor movement. It has stirred up a political ferment that is straining the labor-Democratic coalition. It has stalled the projected union organization drive in the South. It has spurred the union leaders to openly declare themselves on the issue of desegregation. And on the morrow, it will compel them to take the counter-offensive against the racist drive which is undermining the existing union structure in the South and threatens to spread its poison throughout the country.

The union leaders have belatedly come to understand that they can no longer temporize on the civil rights issue. On May 18, the Washington convention of the AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union adopted a resolution, against the opposition of Southern delegates, favoring school integration and condemning White Citizens Councils.

The TWU convention action came a few days after an announcement at the International Ladies Garment Workers Union convention in Atlantic City of the formation of a National Union Civil Rights Committee with AFL-CIO president George Meany as chairman and ILGWU president David Dubinsky as treasurer. The NUCRC has set as it goal a $2 million fund to aid the fight for full civil rights for the Negro people.

DEMOCRATS WARNED

Both the TWU and ILGWU conventions deplored the tendency of Democratic party leaders to make concessions to the Dixiecrats on civil rights and labor issues. By unanimous vote, the ILGWU convention adopted a report warning that labor would be "reluctant to issue blank checks of endorsement to political leadership or parties whose liberalism is tainted with regressive policies of anti-New Deal philosophy and outlook." If labor had no other choice, the report implied, it might find it preferable to sit out the presidential election and "seek out direction and implementation of its goals and ambitions on the Congressional level."

The TWU resolution supporting the Supreme Court desegregation decision touched off a debate on the explosive issue of color discrimination and segregation in the South. The resolution denounced the White Citizens Councils and allied groups as "enemies of law and order and bitter foes of the labor movement." It called on "members of labor unions and all those devoted to Southern progress to scorn these groups."

While none of the delegates openly supported the WCC the opposition declared that adoption of the resolution would "compound the obstacles that the union had faced in trying to organize textile workers in the South." One of the speakers, reports the May 19 N. Y. Times, "said 70 per cent of the members of his local union were members of these councils."

OPEN-SHOP SOUTH

The TWU has been more adversely affected by the competition of the unorganized textile industry in the South than probably any other union. This competition has depressed wage levels and working conditions everywhere. The runaway shop, to escape union wage scales and conditions, has been a common occurrence. Efforts to unionize the unorganized southern textile plants has been largely unsuccessful. The Taft-Hartley Act bolstered in the South by state "Right-to-Work" laws, pose formidable obstacles to union organization. These obstacles are compounded by the Southern Jim Crow pattern which divides the workers along color lines. It is these circumstances which have converted the South into a haven for profit-gouging, union-hating employers.

While the problem for the TWU is more acute it is by no means peculiar to the textile industry. All unions, to one degree or another, are similarly affected. In the last analysis it is the race issue which is the key to the organization of the South. In the past the union leaders have tried to straddle the issue. They sought to occupy a "middle ground" position. With the sharpening of the conflict over civil rights their position has become increasingly untenable.

Under the formula of employing persons who "understood the South," union organizing staffs have been largely composed of native Southerners. In a special study of labor in the South today, Ed Townsend, staff-writer for the Christian Science Monitor relates: "Southern representatives of AFL-CIO and its internationals" are in the main, "native Southerners," who "feel a close kinship to the segregationists although, because their jobs depend on it, they must follow the national integration pattern."

It is these representatives that provide the link between the national union organizations and the workers in the Southern unions. Their policy has been described as one of "integration within the framework of segregation." That is, instead of segregated union locals with separate union halls, etc., all members belong to the same local and meet together in the same hall but with whites sitting on one side and Negroes on the other. The "White" and "Colored" signs are removed from drinking fountain and toilet facilities but with the tacit understanding that each "race" would continue to use separate facilities. And so on down the line.

A FERTILE FIELD

With the complicity of the top union leaders these "native Southern" representatives, steeped in race prejudice, have served to prop up the Jim Crow system. It is no wonder that the White Citizens Councils have found the unions in the South a fertile field for their rabid race propaganda.

The WCC are tools of the labor-hating corporation and plantation owners. The employers have always used the race issue as a means to keep the workers divided and fighting each other in order to prevent their uniting in defense of their common interests against their common foe. That they have succeeded in duping a majority of the white workers is due primarily to the weak-kneed policy of the labor leaders in making compromising concessions to the Jim Crow pattern in the South.

This policy served to pave the way for the WCC offensive against the unions which has now reached such alarming proportions. The racists thunder their defiance of the Supreme Court desegregation decisions and vow to crush all those who threaten the "Southern way of life." They use their economic and political power, their control over local and state government, all means and all methods, to ferret out and punish the "integrationists." Compromise measures are rejected. It is not enough to remain silent. They demand proof of loyalty, by word and deed, to the Jim Crow system. And, in most cases proof is required in the form of adherence to, or membership in, the racist, anti-union White Citizens Councils.

There is no more "middle ground." The maintenance of the Jim Crow system requires the destruction of the independent trade unions. That is the hard fact that events are pounding into the heads of the union leaders. To meet the challenge requires a sharp break with the policy of collaboration and the initiating of a policy of struggle on all fronts — economic, political and social. Along that road lies victory!

Right to Organize Southern Style

Union organizers in Dublin, Georgia, are required by city law to take an oath that they do not favor overthrowing segregation laws, an oath which is in violation of AFL-CIO principles. Before he is even eligible to take the oath, an organizer must have lived in Dublin for more than five years and pay a $2,500 license fee. Dublin has a woolen and worsted plant, a mattress plant and several woodworking plants, all unorganized.

James Kutcher

A federal appeals court has ruled James Kutcher, combat veteran and double amputee, improperly discharged from his job by the Veterans Administration. This newspaper had voiced especial concern over this case. For a faulty law permitted and the VA, an administrative body (not a court), had proceeded to adjudge this man guilty of what amounted to charges of treason without the protections of due process."

— from an editorial, April 27, Christian Science Monitor

One H-Bomb Equals All Foreign Aid

The cost of the H-Bomb exploded above Namu Island May 21, producing a four-mile ball of flame and a poisonous cloud 100 miles wide, was approximately half a billion dollars. This one flash of destruction cost more than the much-advertized economic and technical assistance "given" by the U.S. to Asia, Africa and South America for the entire current fiscal year — about $300 million. Since 1950 Wall Street's government has spent approximately $256 billion on military appropriations at home and abroad. Only about one-half of one per cent of this figure has been spent for economic and technical assistance to underdeveloped countries.

MOSCOW FRAME-UP TRIALS V

Underlying Reason for the Charge of Sabotage

[We publish herewith the fifth installment of Leon Trotsky's speech at the hearings of the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. The hearings took place April 10 to 17, 1937 at Coyoacan, Mexico. The installment skips over sections X and XI of the speech entitled respectively, "The Kirov Assassination" and "Who Drew Up the List of 'Victims' of the Terror?" The full text is available in a Pioneer Publishers pamphlet entitled Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials. The Commission of Inquiry was an impartial body headed by John Dewey, the eminent philosopher and teacher of American liberalism. It included Carlo Tresca, outstanding leader of the anarchist movement in the U.S. Otto Ruehle, who stood side by side in the Reichstag with Karl Liebknecht in fighting German imperialism in World War I, was another member. The Commission selected as its legal adviser John Finerty, of world-wide fame in the defense of Tom Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti. The verdict of the Commission after nine months of thorough investigation in several countries was that the defendants in the Moscow Trials were "Not Guilty." — Ed.]

By Leon Trotsky

The crudest part of the judicial frame-up, alike in design and execution, is the charge of sabotage against the "Trotskyites." This aspect of the trial, which constitutes one of the most important elements of the whole amalgam, has convinced nobody (if one excludes gentlemen of the type of Duranty and Company). The world learned, from the indictment and the proceedings, that all Soviet industry was virtually in the control of "a handful of Trotskyites." Nor were matters any better as regards transportation.

But of what did the Trotskyite acts of sabotage really consist? In Pyatakov's confessions, corroborated by the testimony of his former subordinates who sat beside him on the prisoners' bench, it was revealed that: (a) plans for new factories were too slowly drafted, and revised time and again; (b) the construction of factories took far too long, and caused the immobilization of colossal sums; (c) enterprises were put into operation in an unfinished state and consequently were quickly ruined; (d) there were disproportions among the various sections of new plants, with the result that the productive capacity of the factories was reduced in the extreme; (e) the plants accumulated superfluous reserves of raw materials and supplies, thus transforming living capital into dead capital; (f) supplies were wildly squandered, etc.

All these phenomena, long known as the chronic diseases of Soviet economic life, are now put forward as the fruits of a malicious conspiracy which Pyatakov led—naturally, under my orders.

However, it remains perfectly incomprehensible what, while all this went on, was the role of the state organs of industry and finance, and of the accounting authorities, not to speak of the Party, which has its nuclei in all institutions and enterprises. If one believes the indictment, the leadership of economy was not in the hands of the "genial, infallible leader," nor in the hands of his closest collaborators, the members of the Politburo and of the Government, but in the hands of an isolated man, already nine years in banishment and exile.

Stalinists Accuse Themselves

How is one to understand this? According to a Moscow dispatch to the New York Times (March 25, 1937), the new chief of heavy industry, V. Mezhlauk, at a meeting of his subordinates, revealed the criminal role of the saboteurs in the drawing up of false plans. But up to the time of Orjonikidze's death (February 18, 1937), Mezhlauk himself was at the head of the State Planning Commission, whose special task was precisely to examine economic plans and projects.

Thus, in its pursuit of frame-ups, the Soviet Government issues to itself a degrading certificate of bankruptcy. Not for nothing does the Temps, semi-official mouthpiece of the French ally, remark that it would have been better never to have let this part of the trial see daylight.

What has just been said about industry applies wholly to transportation as well. Railroad specialists calculate that the carrying capacity of a railroad has certain technical limits. From the time when Kaganovich took over the management of the transportation system, the "theory of limits" was officially declared to be a bourgeois prejudice; worse yet, the invention of saboteurs. Hundreds of engineers and technicians had to atone for their direct or indirect support of the "theory of limits."

Undoubtedly many old specialists, trained under the conditions of capitalist economy, flagrantly underestimated the possibilities inherent in planned methods, and were consequently inclined to set extremely low norms. But that does not at all mean that the tempos of the economy depend solely on the inspiration and energy of the bureaucracy. The general industrial equipment of the country, the reciprocal interdependence of the various branches of industry, transportation and agriculture, the level of skill of the workers, the percentage of experienced engineers, and, lastly, the general material and cultural level of the population—these are the essential factors which have the last word in the fixing of limits.

The effort of the bureaucracy to violate these factors by naked commands, reprisals and premiums ("Stakhanovism") inevitably exacts harsh penalties in the form of disorganization of plants, damage of machinery, a high proportion of damaged goods, accidents and disasters. There is not the slightest ground for dragging a "Trotskyite conspiracy" into this matter.

Sabotage or Bureaucratic Vices?

The task of the prosecution is extremely complicated by the additional fact that from February, 1930, onwards, I exposed in the press, systematically and persistently, year in and year out, from one month to the next, the self-same vices of bureaucratized economy which are now being charged against a fantastic "Trotskyist" organization. I proved that Soviet industry required not **maximum** but **optimum** tempos — i.e., such tempos as would, by resting upon mutual correspondence among various sections of one and the same enterprise and among various enterprises, insure the uninterrupted growth of economy in the future. I wrote in the Bulletin of the Opposition on February 13, 1930:

"Industry is racing towards a crisis, above all because of the monstrous bureaucratic methods of collating the plan. A five-year plan can be drafted, preserving the necessary proportions and guarantees, only on the condition of a free discussion of the tempos and the terms set, with the participation in the discussion of all the interested forces in industry, the working class, all its organizations, and above all the Party itself; with the free verification of the entire experience of Soviet economy in the recent period, including the monstrous mistakes of the leadership . . .

"A plan of socialist construction cannot be arrived at in the guise of a priori departmental directive."

The "Trotskyites," we are told at every step, constitute an insignificant handful, isolated from and hated by the masses. It is for this very reason that they allegedly resorted to the methods of individual terror. The picture alters completely, however, when we come to sabotage. To be sure, a single man can throw sand into a machine or blow up a bridge. But in the court we hear of such methods of sabotage as would be possible only if the entire administrative apparatus were in the hands of saboteurs. Thus, the accused Shestov, a transparent **agent provocateur**, at the session of January 25:

"And finally, at all the mines — the Prokopyevsk, the Anzherka and the Lenin Mines — the Stakhanov movement was sabotaged. Instructions were issued to worry the life out of the workers. Before a worker reached his place of work, he must be made to heap two hundred curses on the heads of the pit management. Impossible conditions of work were created. Normal work was rendered impossible, not only for Stakhanov methods but even for ordinary methods."

All that was done by the "Trotskyites"! Obviously, the whole administration from top to bottom was composed of "Trotskyites."

Not content with this, the prosecution also lists acts of sabotage which would be unrealizable without the active or at least passive support of the workers themselves. Thus, the President of the Court cites the following statement of the accused Muralov who, in his turn, cites the accused Boguslavsky: "Trotskyites on the railways . . . were putting locomotives out of commission, disrupting the traffic schedule and causing jams at the stations, thereby delaying the transportation of urgent freight." The crimes enumerated simply mean that the railroads were in the hands of the "Trotskyites." Not satisfied with this excerpt from Muralov's testimony, the President asks him:

"And quite lately Bogulslavsky carried on wrecking activities on the construction of the Eiche-Sokol line?

Muralov: Yes.

The President: And as a result disrupted the construction job?

Muralov: Yes.

And that is all. How Bogulslavsky and two or three other "Trotskyites," without the support of the employes and workers, could have disrupted the construction work of a whole railroad line, remains entirely incomprehensible.

The dates of the sabotage are contradictory in the extreme. According to the most important testimony, sabotage in 1934 was "something new." But the aforementioned Shestov places the beginning of sabotage at the end of the year 1931. In the course of the court proceedings the dates are shifted, now forward, now backward. The mechanism of these shiftings is quite clear. Most of the concrete accusations of sabotage or "diversion" are based upon some mishap, failure or disaster which really occurred in industry or transportation. Beginning with the first Five-Year Plan there were not a few failures and accidents. The indictment chooses those which can be linked to one or another of the defendants. Hence flow the interminable jumps in the chronology of the sabotage. In any case, as far as one can make out, the general "directive" was first given by me only in 1934.

The most vicious manifestations of "sabotage" are now discovered in the chemical industry, where the internal proportions were especially grossly violated. Yet seven years ago, when the Soviet power first really began building this branch of industry, I wrote:

"For example, the solution of the questions to what place the **chemical industry** should occupy in the plan for the years immediately ahead can be prepared only by an open struggle among the various economic groupings and various branches of industry for their share of chemistry in the national economy. Soviet democracy is not the demand of abstract politics, and still less of morality. It has become a matter of economic necessity."

What was the real situation in this respect? "Industrialization," I wrote in the same article, "is more and more kept going by the administrative whip. Equipment and labor forces are being strained. The disproportions between the individual branches of industry are accumulating." Knowing only too well the Stalinist methods of self-defense, I added: "It is not difficult to forecast the response our analysis will evoke in official circles. Functionaries will say that we are speculating on a crisis. Scoundrels will add that we seek the downfall of the Soviet power . . . That will not stop us. Slanders pass, facts remain."

I do not intend to burden the record with citations. But I am ready to demonstrate with a collection of my articles in my hand that for seven years, on the basis of the official Soviet press reports, I untiringly warned against the ruinous consequences of skipping the period of laboratory preparation, of putting incomplete plants into operation, of supplanting technical training and correct organization by frantic and senseless reprisals, and, not infrequently, fantastic premiums.

Trotsky Demanded Remedy

All the economic "crimes" referred to at the last trial were analyzed by me countless times — beginning in February, 1930, and ending in my latest book, "The Revolution Betrayed" — as the inevitable consequences of the bureaucratic system. I have not the slightest ground for boasting of my perspicacity. All I had to do was to follow attentively the official reports and draw rudimentary conclusions from the incontestable facts.

If the "sabotage" of Pyatakov and the others, as the indictment states, began actively only around the year 1934, how is one to explain the fact that already in the four preceding years I demanded the radical remedying of those diseases of Soviet industry which are now represented as due to the malicious activities of "Trotskyites"?

But perhaps my critical work was mere "camouflage"? According to the real sense of that term, such camouflage could only have been intended to conceal crimes. Yet my criticism, on the contrary, exposed them. It thus transpires that while secretly organizing sabotage, I did everything in my power to draw the attention of the Government to the acts of "sabotage" and thereby — to the perpetrators. All this would have been extremely clever — if it were not so utterly nonsensical.

The system of Stalin and his police and prosecution agents is quite simple. For major accidents in plants, and especially for train wrecks, usually several employes were shot, often those who shortly before had been decorated for achieving high tempos. The result had been universal distrust and discontent. The last trial was intended to personify in Trotsky the causes for the accidents and disasters.

Against Ormuzd, the spirit of good, was to be set the evil spirit Ahriman. Following the unchanging course of current Soviet legal procedure, all the accused naturally confessed their guilt. Is it any wonder? For the GPU it is no great labor to place before a certain number of their victims the alternative: Either be shot immediately, or preserve a shadow of hope on the condition that you agree to appear in court in the guise of "Trotskyites," conscious saboteurs of industry and transportation. The rest requires no commentary.

The conduct of the Prosecutor in court constitutes in itself deadly evidence against the real conspirators. Vyshinsky limits himself to simple questions: "Do you confess yourself guilty of sabotage? Of organizing accidents and wrecks? Do you confess that the directives came from Trotsky?" But he never asks how the accused carried out their crimes in practice: how they succeeded in getting their wrecking plans adopted by the highest state institutions; in hiding the sabotage for years from their superiors and subordinates; in procuring the silence of local authorities, specialists, workers, etc. As always, Vyshinsky is the chief accomplice of the GPU in the frame-up and the deception of public opinion.

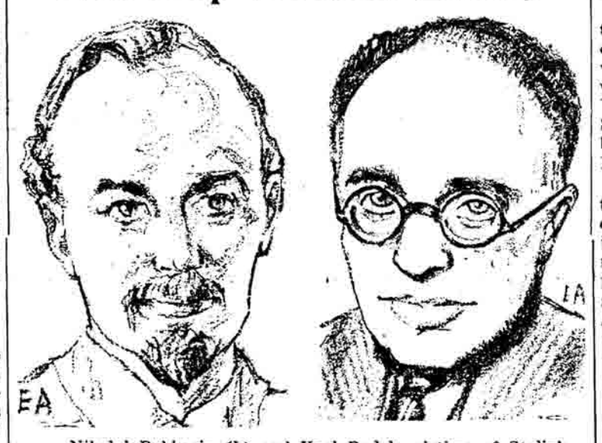
The extent of the shamelessness of the inquisitors, moreover, is seen in the fact that the accused, on the persistent demand of the prosecution, declared — though, to be sure, not without reluctance — that they deliberately strove to cause as many human victims as possible, in order thus to inspire discontent among the workers.

But that is not all. On March 24 — that is, just a few days ago — a dispatch from Moscow related the shooting of three "Trotskyites" for malicious arson of a school in Novosibirsk in which many children were burned to death. Permit me also to recall that my younger son, Sergei Sedov, was arrested on the charge of attempting the mass poisoning of workers.

Let us for a moment imagine that the Government of the United States had, on the heels of the Texas school disaster which shocked the entire world, launched throughout the country a rabid campaign against the Comintern and charged it with the malicious extermination of children, and we get an approximate notion of the current policy of Stalin. Such vile charges, possible only in the polluted atmosphere of a totalitarian regime, bear their refutation within themselves.

[To be continued.]

Framed-Up Bolshevik Leaders



Nikolai Bukharin (l.) and Karl Radek, victims of Stalin's persecution in the third and second trials respectively. Bukharin, a prominent Marxist theoretician, was described by Lenin in his Testament as the "favorite of the whole party." From 1923 to 1928, however, he was Stalin's ally in the fight against the Trotskyist Left Opposition. This did not save him from Stalin's murder machine. Radek, an outstanding Bolshevik journalist in Lenin's time fought Stalinism from 1923 until 1929, when he capitulated to Stalin.

Basic Discussion Material Still Withheld from Stalinist Ranks

By Harry Ring

In the three months since the anti-Stalin campaign was launched at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, major revelations coupled with important concessions to the Soviet population have been made. But this has been matched by a marked pattern of suppression of key documents and a refusal to answer fundamental questions.

Most glaring in this respect is the continued refusal to make public the speech Khrushchev gave to a closed session of the Congress which triggered the drive to destroy the Stalin cult. While the text of the speech has been made available to the U.S. State Department and other capitalist agencies it is not in the hands of the Soviet people or the ranks of the Communist parties throughout the world. Yet in its absence, a jolted and disoriented CP membership is called upon to carry on a "Leninist discussion" of the repudiation of the cult of Stalin, whose "infallibility" was until yesterday pounded into the members' heads with a sledge hammer.

The historic Testament of Lenin is being given the same treatment by the Kremlin bureaucrats. As they continue their piece-by-piece dismemberment of the Stalin myth, the very logic of its structure leads them back to Lenin's characterization of Stalin as rude and disloyal and his recommendation that Stalin be removed from the post of Party Secretary. "Back to Lenin" declared the 20th Congress. Then why is the full text of his Testament not published? Must be ranks be satisfied with a few paraphrases from this document which gives Lenin's final estimate of Trotsky, Stalin and other Bolshevik leaders?

SILENCE ON JEWS' FATE

Bureaucratic disregard for the CP members is present even in the Kremlin's most damaging admissions. A shocked Stalinist rank and file is finally informed that under Stalin's regime a hideous pogrom had been waged against the Soviet Jews. Confession of the crime is made through Folksstimme, a Polish-Jewish newspaper, in its April 4 issue.

From that day until now, not a single official word from Moscow about this. Are the CP ranks to assume that Soviet anti-semitism was merely an "error" too trivial to warrant mention by their new "Leninist" leaders?

On April 1 the Hungarian Minister of Justice announced that Laszlo Rajk and other Hungarian CP leaders executed in 1949 for treasonous collaboration with Tito had been frame up and that their confessions were counterfeit. For the Stalinist ranks throughout the world — long troubled by the system of trial-by-confession — certain questions immediately came to mind. How were the false confessions of guilt obtained? By whom? If these confessions were false then what about the confessions in the Moscow Trials of the 1930's?

So sharp was the reaction to the Rajk Trial disclosures that the April 2 Daily Worker was moved to assert the "right to demand that the investigations in Hungary and in the Soviet Union shall be full and complete, and shall bring to book those responsible for injustice, no matter how high their position was or is." Almost two months have gone by since the Daily Worker voiced this demand. The Kremlin remains as silent as Stalin's ghost. Why?

Portions of the Khrushchev speech allowed to filter down to the ranks indict Stalin for the wholesale murder of Communist Party members and leaders; the execution of Marshal Tukhachevsky on a false charge of treason, the slaughter of 5,000 Red Army officers and a consequent weakening of the Soviet military in the face of threatening Nazism.

As these admissions hit the Stalinist ranks between the eyes they instinctively reacted with one question. "Where were you while Stalin was committing these sinister crimes?" So strong was this initial reaction that CP Chairman Foster hastened into print to assure the ranks that this question would certainly be answered by the Kremlin leaders. Aside from a few "jokes" attributed by the press to Khrushchev to the effect that "a man could get killed" for defying Stalin, there has been no answer to this most pertinent question.

Along with suppression of key documents and stubborn refusal to answer important questions, comes Kremlin efforts to bureaucratically contain the discussion within narrow limits. The Soviet chiefs had no sooner urged discussion than in the Soviet press they opened a typical Stalinist campaign of denunciation of "rotten elements" who apparently want to examine the political line of the Kremlin as well as the "cult of the personality."

Who exactly are these so-called "rotten elements?" Precisely what are their views and criticisms? Not a shred of factual explanation is given. The attack is confined to denunciations and ominous threats.

PEOPLE WANT MORE

The Kremlin's repudiation of Stalin is dictated not by "recognition of a new stage of Soviet development" and an idealistic desire for "self-reform." The central aim is to preserve its bureaucratic privileges in the face of rising mass discontent.

The Kremlin chiefs continue to dole out concessions to placate the fierce resentment of the Soviet workers against the despotism of the bureaucratic caste. The concessions eliminate only the most repressive features that marked Stalin's rule. But the Soviet people, we predict, will not settle for this. They want the restoration of full Soviet democracy and an end to present social inequalities. They want the fullest measure of improved living standards that the Soviet productive machine can provide.

Revolutionary workers everywhere are obligated to support them in accomplishing this socialist aim. The first step in that direction is to demand a genuine unfettered discussion. Publication of main documents and straightforward answers to burning questions must go to the top of the agenda.

Poland in Van in Ending Stalin Cult

"Had Poland passed through an authentic anti-Stalinist revolution, people would not be expressing themselves any differently than they are now doing — at least as regards a number of problems." This is the judgment of K. A. Jelenski, writing in the May 3 France Observateur, a French liberal weekly. Jelenski quotes extensively from different Polish newspapers and periodicals — both of political and cultural nature.

For instance on productivity, the economist Brohdan Brozdowski writes: "It is impossible to increase productivity without assuring the workers an increase in their profits. . . Nobody wants to work a lot and earn but little." The writer also condemns the frequent upward revision of piece-work norms and recommends that norms be held constant for a period of three years. "Up to recently, nobody dared propose such a measure, for it would have been considered counter-revolutionary." Brozdowski concludes by demanding that the trade unions stop being "fictitious and dead institutions, and again provide active representation for the working people."

The April 8 Przeglad Kulturalny makes the following oblique attack on Kremlin domination of Poland. "A real independence of Poland would serve the interests of the USSR." Evidently, the editors consider present Polish independence to be only nominal and want the real thing.

World Events

EGYPT'S long expected recognition of the Chinese Peoples' Republic came through May 16 and Chiang Kai-shek's representatives to the Arab nation bitterly withdrew to their U.S.-protected island of Formosa. The Chinese Republic is already the third largest purchaser of Egyptian cotton, source of 80 per cent of the nation's foreign exchange. Now a second Arab nation, Syria, is considering the same move, according to Syrian Premier Said El Ghazzi.

* * *

"STALIN WAS A GOOD SCOUT. No doubt he made some mistakes as we all do. . . However, undoubtedly collectivist rule is the logical evolutionist step for the Soviet Communist Party," says Mexican painter David Sequeiros, according to a May 22 Reuters dispatch. Sequeiros achieved international notoriety in May, 1940, by his admitted participation in an unsuccessful machine gun attack on Leon Trotsky. Robert Sheldon Harte, a guard at Trotsky's Mexican household, was kidnaped by the political assassins and was later found murdered.

* * *

A POLICY OF FORCE to retain imperialist holdings was reaffirmed by British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd. Speaking before a Conservative party rally in Nottinghamshire, England, the Foreign Secretary said it would be a "breach of faith" to give up Cyprus, Singapore, or Aden. The New York Times May 22 cynically remarks that "For reasons of strategy that are slightly outmoded in the age of air war and Western alliances, these bases are sancrosanct."

* * *

SOVIET TRADE with the rest of the world has risen 35% in the last year. Although traditionally Eastern Europe has supplied Western markets with raw materials they have now begun to offer manufactured goods and are receiving in turn such items as Egyptian cotton, Burmese rice and Argentine meat.

THE DAILY WORKER reports, May 16, from Prague: "Artur London, former Czechoslovak Deputy foreign Minister, said here this week that 'methods of violence' were used to make him confess in 1952 to crimes of high treason and espionage of which he was innocent." London said that after months of torture and mental anguish he came to the conclusion that it was better to "confess" than to accuse the Communist Party of being wrong. Sentenced to life imprisonment during the Slansky group trial, London has been released and completely exonerated.

* * *

SHAKEDOWN of Argentina labor has begun under the direction of the provisional government of President Aramburu, head of the second government since the September, 1955 overthrow of Juan Peron. A speed-up clause is one of the first of the new regulations, presented under the formula of "permission to work overtime and for workers to attend more machines." Officials are worried, however, about the reaction of organized workers, especially to plans for large-scale "transfers" of workers from one area of industry to another. The threat is made that seniority will be ignored in the new crack-down. The report from Buenos Aires says: "Only the professional agitator and laggard are to be penalized." These are the terms often used by employers to describe active unionists.

* * *

KOREA ELECTIONS. Opponent of President Syngman Rhee, Dr. John M. Chang, was confirmed May 20 as the newly elected vice-president of South Korea. P. H. Shinicky, Dr. Chang's presidential running mate, died ten days before the election. Taegu, a center of anti-government sentiment, gave overwhelming support to Dr. Chang and Rhee lost the Taegu presidential vote to Cho Bong Am, a "reformed Communist." Following the elections, Syngman Rhee's cabinet resigned.

Get the Facts

about the

SUPPRESSED TESTAMENT OF LENIN

This 48-page pamphlet, containing the full text of Lenin's famous last testament, plus background material by Leon Trotsky, is must reading for everyone interested in the origin of the Stalin cult. Trotsky reveals the inside story of why Lenin came to break with Stalin and how he started the struggle against the future dictator.

Stalin himself was forced at the October 1927 plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party to admit the existence of Lenin's last warning. He read aloud the postscript designating the General Secretary as "too rude" and proposing to remove him from his post. "Yes, comrades," said Stalin, "I am rude towards those who are rudely and disloyally destroying and disintegrating the Party. I have never made a secret of it and shall not do so now." But Stalin soon decided to make a secret of Lenin's last testament. He refused to publish it, putting it instead on the list of forbidden reading for rank-and-file Stalinists.

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One Hundred Years from Now

The world's supply of food, industrial raw materials, and "technical manpower" will be sufficient to provide the entire human race with the necessaries and luxuries of life "on the American standard" even if world population quadruples in the next 100 years.

This prediction is made in a report called "Resources of the World: A Speculative Projection,' made by a group of scientists who are members of the faculty of the California Institute of Technology. It is a modest prediction based on known resources and techniques which have for the most part already been developed in their theoretical aspects.

The new technology will involve extensive use of atomic fusion which will make it possible to obtain all raw materials and power from "the most common substances available: air, sea water, ordinary rock, and sunlight."

The report makes clear that it is not only possible to create such a technology, but absolutely necessary if we are to overcome the exhaustion of richer raw materials on which the present technology is based.

In other words, in order to progress at all, or to avoid going backward, technology is going to have to take a qualitative leap forward which will insure that natural resources are unlimited. The scientists say this leap is entirely possible, that man has only to apply enough scientific, intellectual energy to his technological problems in order to solve them.

The scientists who made the study have only two reservations to make. One is that the prediction applies only "in the absence of a world catastrophe," in other words an H-Bomb war. The other is that such a technology must be well integrated and carefully planned, and the planning should start soon.

In view of this need for plannig it is ironic that the report was prepared for the benefit of, and is now being delivered to, board meetings of America's largest corporations. The very corporations who resist every suggestion of economic planning as an attack on profits and as "creeping socialism."

These same corporations in their aggregate make up U.S. Big Business. This is the very force driving for an H-bomb war. Its insatiable greed for profits provides the basis for the real threat of World War III.

Over 100 years ago, Karl Marx forecast that enormous increases in mankind's technological capacities would bring about universal well-being. But he warned that capitalist organization of society would prove to be an obstacle in the realization of the goal. He foresaw that because of conflict with profit making, the capitalist class at a certain point would stymie technological development and would threaten mankind with untold destruction. He concluded that mankind would be compelled to overthrow capitalism and organize economy on a planned and rational — that is, socialist — basis.

The report of the scientists confirms Marx's predictions. The fact that America's capitalist rulers exploded an unbelievably destructive H-bomb on the very same day the scientists projected a giant leap forward in technology points to the alternatives we face: Either capitalist stagnation and eventual all-destroying war; or socialism. We are confident the human race will not make the wrong choice.

Sukarno's Visit to the U.S.

A foreign dignitary visiting the United States presented us with something else than a rabid echo of Washington's saber rattling for a change.

President Achmed Sukarno of Indonesia addressed the U.S. Congress on May 17 to tell of the national independence aspirations of the Asian and African nations. He denounced U.S. military aid to Asian countries as only making "countries accepting it more dependent on America."

He also announced that the Asian and African nations fighting against colonial bondage would accept "any assistance that may come to us from whatever quarter it may come." This was an endorsement of the action of India, Burma, Egypt and other Asian-African powers who have taken economic aid from the Soviet Union.

Instead of denouncing Soviet "imperialism" as previous visiting dignitaries have done in the past, Sukarno directed his attacks against the imperialist powers of Britain, France and Holland. "Nationalism may be an out-of-date doctrine for many in this world; for us in Asia and Africa, it is the mainspring of our efforts," he declared. ". . . The sacrifices we have made have been for the release of our people from a colonial tyranny lasting for generations and centuries."

He also made it clear that he included the Chinese Revolution in the series of colonial uprisings against imperialism.

Sukarno did paint up American imperialism, first by pretending to take the anti-colonail pronouncements made from time to time by Wall Street's agents at face value. Then by his omission of Latin America as an area of the world where the nationalist, anti-imperialist struggle is being waged. Latin America is the preserve of the Wall Street subjugators.

The changfe in content of Sukarno's speech from those of previous visiting dignitaries is a measure of how high the tide of anti-imperialism has risen in the colonial and former colonial areas of the world. This was already registered at the Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations in April 1955. Since then the tide has mounted.

Previous visitors to the U.S. government who came to line up with American imperialism — such as Prime Ministers Kotelawala of Ceylon, Yoshida of Japan Ali of Pakistan — all met defeat subsequently in elections. Sukarno's remarks adhered far more closely to the desires and interests of the Indonesian and all other Asian and African peoples.

Another FBI "Spy" Scare

Shrouded in a cloak of secrecy the FBI swooped down last week to arrest an army sergeant and three civilians for allegedly stealing some secret Army documents.

FBI spokesmen refused to answer press queries as to the nature of the stolen documents or if an "international conspiracy" was involved. The setting was perfect for outsized headlines and a solid radio and TV coverage. Clearly a major new spy ring had been smashed by the ever-alert FBI.

With the booking of the prisoners and the necessity for the FBI to state the facts of the case, even the capitalist press was compelled to take a rather dim view of the grotesque episode. It turned out that the manufacturers of military clothing had, according to the charges, paid off the sergeant for a list of military personnel abroad with a view to setting up a direct mail order business.

This latest "spy" scare is worthy of comment because it sheds a bit of light on an aspect of the functioning of the FBI as a reactionary secret political police outfit. The FBI's highly publicized cloak-and-dagger activity serves as a cloak for its primary function — the invasion of the constitutional rights of the American people.

A steady stream of publicity about "agents of enemy powers," reasons the FBI, is an excellent cover for persecution of those "guilty" of championing the rights of labor, the Negro people and minority political tendencies. It is precisely this phase of the FBI's work which warrants the widest publicity.

The FBI has been the primary agency for carrying the government witch hunt into the labor movement. Under the guise of "loyalty" and "security" checks in the mass industries, FBI agents have been responsible for the firing of countless militant unionists who had never been convicted of any "crime."

The FBI's role in the civil rights battle has been equally odious. It has consistently refused to act against white supremacists who have trampled on the rights and very bodies of Negroes. Its stubborn refusal to enter the Emmett Till case is but one example of this. At the same time from every part of the country comes reports of members of the NAACP and other civil rights organizations finding themselves under FBI surveillance.

Supporters of minority political parties are hounded and harrassed by the FBI with the sole purpose of intimidation. FBI snooping "interviews" with neighbors, shopmates and employers of those suspected of holding dissident political views have become a familiar and revolting part of the "American way of life."

With regard to these activities the FBI is publicity-shy. It would like to carry on these thought-control functions without much fanfare. It would like to strangle America in a police-state grip — without debate. All the more credit is due to those courageous individuals, even outside the radical movement, who have stood up and fought the FBI's Gestapo tactics and refused to answer a single one of its prying questions on the thoughts and convictions of friends and neighbors.

Stalinists Court U.S. Labor Bureaucrats

By George Lavan

The old political maxim, that foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy, works in reverse, as anyone who studies the Daily Worker, the paper of the American Communist Party, can tell you.

Since the foreign policy line of the American Stalinists is co-existence (international class collaboration), its logical consequence in their domestic policy is coexistence with class collaborationist top labor bureaucrats. A case in point is UAW President Walter Reuther, who not so long ago got nothing but brickbats from the Daily Worker. Today he gets nothing but bouquets from the same source.

This is no minor feat of political acrobatics and it took a little time in bringing it about even though the foreign co-existence campaign was in full swing. Moreover, the Stalinists had to do it all by themselves. Reuther wouldn't cooperate. He didn't change his line or politics, the Stalinist leaders had to change theirs. They had to find nice things to say about Reuther while he was still interlarding his speeches with anti-Soviet tirades and domestic redbaiting.

REUTHER

LOVE THAT REUTHER

But Stalinist editors must be given their due — they have big gullets. They can swallow a lot. They probably rationalize themselves into heroes of tolerance for being able to swallow Reuther's insults and respond with cheers and praise. At any rate, the "love Walter" campaign is now in full swing. Reuther's speeches are making the Daily Worker headlines. That paper's editorials now quote him as the quintessence of forward-looking, labor statesmanship and the final authority on what labor should do in the 1956 campaign. Daily Worker columnists now find much in his speeches to rhapsodize about and little to criticize. And by all indications this one-sided lovefest is just in its puppy-love stage. Wait till it fully matures!

Should the American Stalinist heads serenade Reuther with Shakespeare's greatest love sonnet: "Let me not to the marriage of true minds admit impediments," hard-hearted Walter would still not reciprocate. The fact is that Reuther sees impediments. The lady in question has too sordid a past and is definitely not the type a respectable labor statesman likes to be seen with publicly. And to clinch it, he doesn't need her.

Despite rejection, the Communist Party leadership — disregarding the feeling of the CP ranks — will go on singing Reuther's praises and trying to get as close to him as possible. The CP leaders longingly recall the days before the cold war when they were hand in glove with the labor bureaucracy, had, indeed, a sizeable contingent of representatives in it. They hope that those happy days can be retrieved. They have marked out a long patient campaign of allaying the anger of Reuther and the section of the labor leadership he heads.

The campaign includes ending CP opposition to the Reutherite bureaucracy in the UAW and other unions, abandonment of the Progressive Party and support of the policy of delivering the labor and Negro vote to the Democrats.

BROTHERS UNDER SKIN

Basically the labor leadership and the Stalinist chiefs have much in common. Both are servitors of bureaucracies which try to contain and use the labor movement. The former keeps a tight rein on the working class movement, tries to hold it back from a class struggle course and from developing political class consciousness in the form of a Labor Party. In this fashion it renders invaluable service to American capitalism. The role is the classic one of labor lieutenant of capitalism.

Reuther is much more effective than the AFL mossbacks, who practice the same profession, because he can do the job with a lot of liberal and sometimes even militant-sounding lingo, while the language used by the craft-union fakers is so crassly reactionary that the workers aren't taken in by it. In return for his services to capitalism, Reuther cajoles and badgers Big Business into granting labor some crumbs to appease his rank and file and to maintain his own prestige. But the crumbs are pretty crumby compared to what labor's power could bring if a class struggle policy were followed.

The Stalinist line is decided by the foreign policy needs of the Kremlin. When a deal has been made by Moscow with the ruling class of a capitalist country, or when to help bring about a deal a pre-payment to show good faith is considered necessary, the CP of that particular country is given a change of line. Thus the American CP for the last 20 years with the exceptions of the periods of the Stalin-Hitler pact and the cold war, has followed a line basically indistinguishable from that of the labor bureaucracy.

THE STALINIST RECORD

The American CP engaged in all the practices in the unions of the case-hardened bureaucrats supported piecework, no-strike pledges, wage-freezing formulas, etc. In politics it spiked all movements towards a break with the two-party system of Big Business, exerting all its efforts to keep the workers in the Democratic Party.

Its cold-war adventure of the fly-by-night Wallace party which led to expulsion from the CIO now repudiated, the Stalinist leaders are eager to be received again in the parlors of the labor bureaucracy and the Democratic Party. Their application to the American scene of the new turn in the Soviet Union is to renounce their policy of yesterday as "left sectarianism."

Will their coexistence betrayal of the real interests of the American working class and their bootlicking of the labor leaders eventually soften the hearts of Reuther et al? Time and events alone will tell.

For one thing, the policy of the Stalinist leaders of cuddling up to Reuther will not sit well with many rank and file members of the CP. Party members belonging to the CIO have had first-hand experience with Reuther's bureaucratic treatment. They have been witch-hunted by him and his fellow bureaucrats in pursuit of the cold-war objectives of U.S. imperialism. Furthermore, they know that Reuther also bears down on any union militants resisting speed-up or pushing other grievances that the union officials had privately agreed with the companies to leave alone.

These CP workers may yet raise a row inside the party against the Stalinist leaders' class-collaborationist course towards Reuther.

Discussion on Socialist Election Policy

[We publish herewith a letter by Art Sharon, National Campaign Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party to Leo Huberman, co-editor of Monthly Review. In the letter, Sharon again urges Huberman to support the SWP's presidential ticket in the 1956 elections. Last week we printed Sharon's previous letter and Huberman's comment — both appearing in the May issue of Monthly Review. We invite Huberman to reply in The Militant if he so wishes. — Ed.]

Editors, Monthly Review:

I want to thank you for printing my letter in the May issue of Monthly Review and making it part of your discussion on "Socialists and Elections," by appending your editorial comments on certain corollary questions related to the specific question: How shall "convinced socialists" vote in the 1956 national election?

On the basis of the position stated by co-editor Leo Huberman in the March Monthly Review, I concluded my letter by asking, in the name of the Socialist Workers Party, "for your support in the 1956 elections." Your editorial comment provided no answer. The concrete question posed by Leo Huberman in the March MR requires a concrete answer. On the basis of his own criteria, I tried to establish in my letter, that "convinced socialists" had no other alternative but to support and vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in 1956. Do you agree?

As your editorial states, differences over the corollary question of how much validity Leninism has "for the United States at mid-century," need not be settled within the context of the concrete question raised by Leo Huberman. It was not the central point in my letter. I raised it only to demonstrate that the SWP and only the SWP met all of the requirements advanced by Huberman. In the interest of preventing the discussion from being diverted let me recapitulate the argument in behalf of my appeal for electoral support.

HUBERMAN'S LETTER

In his letter to Joan R..... in the March issue of Monthly Review, Huberman vigorously rejects, in principle, the idea of socialist support to the capitalist Republican and Democratic parties. He opposes the concept of a "third party which is not clearly socialist." He then poses the question:

"How shall we vote? The dilemma here is that none of the existing socialist parties in the United States adequately fills the bill.

"The Socialist Party is socialist in name only — it fights socialism where it already exists.

"The Communist Party says it advocates socialism, but for many years now it has been active only in pushing for reforms; and currently it argues for the senseless, suicidal program of working inside the Democratic Party.

"The Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party advocates socialism, but in an unrealistic sectarian way with all its energies focused on attacking Stalinism.

"The De Leonite Socialist Labor Party advocates socialism — its own peculiar, narrow, sectarian brand — and takes a lofty, unrealistic attitude toward day-to-day problems." After summarizing his objection to each, Huberman concludes:

"But since I have firmly decided that I will not vote for a capitalist candidate, I shall have to choose from among the four socialist parties — however unsatisfactory the choice may be."

MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE

I have quoted Huberman at length to avoid any misunderstanding. In his characterization of the SP and CP, Huberman applies criteria of a principled character.

1. The SP, he says, is socialist in name only, "fights socialism where it already exists." The question of the defense of the conquests of the revolution in the Soviet Union, China and the East European states, is a matter of fundamental principle. In deference to this principle Huberman cannot support the Socialist Party.

2. The CP, he points out, advocates the support of a capitalist party, which is not only "senseless" and "suicidal" but is a violation of socialist principle. In addition, neither the SP nor the CP are running candidates in the national elections. It is therefore rather puzzling to understand by what logic Huberman arrives at the conclusion that his choice is from among the "four" socialist parties.

In addition, the De Leonite SLP, also "fights socialism where it already exists." If Huberman is ignorant of the fact he need only consult their published material on the subject. To be consistent he would have to apply the same criterion to the SLP that he does to the SP.

Huberman's objections to the Socialist Workers Party are on a different plane. There is no question of principle involved. For a "convinced socialist" there can be no other alternative under the Huberman criteria than to support the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

I leave aside for the moment the polemical exaggeration contained in Huberman's objection that the SWP has "all its energies focused on attacking Stalinism." The SWP carries on independent socialist activities in all areas of the class struggle, not the least of which is carrying the message of socialism to the American people in election campaigns. Huberman admits the SWP "advocates socialism" but "in an unrealistic sectarian way."

It would be helpful if Huberman were more specific and submitted a bill of particulars supporting his charge. Otherwise the unspecified charge of being "an unrealistic sectarian" is merely an epithet. The Stalinists stigmatize those who refuse to follow them into the Democratic cesspool as "sectarian." In retrospect they now dub themselves "left-sectarian" for having supported Wallace and the Progressive Party against cold-war Truman in 1948.

Wherein does our alleged "unrealistic sectarianism" lie? Is it in the fact that the SWP ran socialist candidates in 1948 against both the capitalist parties and the third party Wallace movement with its capitalist program? Or maybe it was in 1952 when the SWP ran Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss who conducted a vigorous socialist agitation against the Truman-Eisenhower war in Korea?

In 1952 the editors of Monthly Review were also in a dilemma. How did they resolve it? Writing in the November 1952 issue of Monthly Review, Huberman said:

"My dilemma, then, is not that of Stevenson vs. Hallinan. What troubles me is that the Progressive Party is not a socialist party. Composed, as it is, mainly of convinced socialists, it should, I think, stand four-square for socialism. I regret that it doesn't since I am certain that if it did its total vote would not be less, and might even be greater. Besides, and of great importance, it would give its adherents the feeling of exhilaration which comes with voting for something instead of merely being in opposition." And his conclusion? "I shall vote for Hallinan and Bass."

Co-editor Paul Sweezy considered Huberman's position too "sectarian." Proceeding from the "theory of the lesser evil" he announced he would vote for — Adlai Stevenson, candidate of the Democratic Party.

Who do the Monthly Review editors propose to support in 1956?

Just a word on Stalinism as it relates to the question under discussion. If Huberman believes what he says about the policy of the Communist Party being "suicidal" for the American working class, then "convinced socialists" cannot possibly expend too much energy focusing their attack upon those responsible for perpetrating such a monstrous betrayal. If any error has been committed in that connection, I regret to say it is on the side of those whose energies have been expended in covering up, apologizing for and whitewashing the crimes of Stalinism.

Art Sharon

...ADMIT LENIN FOUGHT STALIN

(Continued from page 1)

Trotsky explaining the Testament's history.

Lenin's Testament forms part of the record of his last political struggle, waged from October, 1922 to March, 1953. This is the interval between recovery from his first stroke and the onset of his second stroke. What Lenin sought to break up was the swift consolidation of a bureaucratic faction in the government and leading party institutions. Its guiding center was the party's Organization Bureau, headed by the General Secretary, Stalin.

LENIN AND TROTSKY

In the fight, Lenin turned to Trotsky for collaboration as the latter reported in his book, My Life. (The pertinent sections were reprinted in the April 16 and 23 issues of The Militant.)

The documents of Lenin's fight against the bureaucracy include "How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" and "Better Less but Better." These articles are included in Vol. IX of Lenin's Selected Works. In addition there are the supposesd documents of the fight. These include besides the Testament, letters and other material denouncing Stalin's stand on the national question, in which he taxed Stalin with Great-Russian chauvinism.

In particular, Lenin attacked Stalin's brutal denial of the national self-determination desires of the Georgians. Their aspirations were backed by the best of the Georgian Bolsheviks. Lenin was preparing to appear at the 12th Party Congress in March 1923 with a "bombshell" against Stalin in the form of open support to Stalin's revolutionary opponents in Georgia.

Lenin saw in Stalin's high-handed treatment of the Georgians the most alarming symptom of the rise of bureaucratic rule, which he feared would swamp the USSR unless energetically combatted. Indeed, the Georgian events of 1923 foreshadowed Stalin's far worse crimes against the national minorities in the Soviet Union including the decimation of Jews, now admitted by the Jewish Stalinist press in Poland.

Bed-ridden on the eve of the 12th Congress by the approaching second stroke, Lenin gave all the material he had prepared against Stalin to Trotsky, urging him to undertake the fight. Finally, on March 5, just before the stroke, Lenin sent a letter to Stalin breaking off all personal relations.

LENIN'S SECRETARY

These unpublished documents were read at the Central Committee meeting in 1926 and form part of the stenographic record of the gathering. As such they must still be in the Soviet archives. Furthermore, Fotieva, Lenin's personal secretary, is still alive. She was recently rehabilitated by the Kremlin after being hounded under Stalin. She is a living witness to the entire struggle, in which she was intimately involved.

Although the Kremlin has all the facts at its disposal, what Komsomolskaya Pravda printed is only a small portion of the record of Lenin's definitive break with Stalin. Furthermore, the newspaper post-dated the time when Stalin fully revealed his rudeness and disloyalty — with which Lenin had taxed him — until long after Lenin's death. **But Lenin saw these vices as grounds for Stalin's immediate removal from leadership. The Kremlin's vagueness about the time element is to cover up the fact that the Left Opposition, led by Trotsky, was conducting the very fight Lenin had started against the usurping bureaucratic caste, headed by Stalin. Khrushchev and Co. are part and parcel of this caste.**

They are yielding the truth about Stalin only grudgingly, a small piece at a time. This is a sure indication that the Kremlin chiefs are abandoning the Stalin cult not because they are carrying through a self-reform of the bureaucratic dictatorship, but because they are subjected to enormous pressure from the masses. As with the Stalin cult, so with all other recent reforms launched by the Kremlin. They are all grudging concessions, made piecemeal, in an attempt to preserve intact the essence of the bureaucratic oligarchy's rule.

However, publication of even part of Lenin's denunciation of Stalin is bound to sharpen the demand of the Soviet masses — especially the youth — for the whole truth. The demand will undoubtedly be included in the program of the political revolution against the bureaucracy.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XX — MONDAY, MAY 28, 1956 — NUMBER 22

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Republicans and the School Decision

When it comes to rewriting history to suit the political needs of the moment, the Russian bureaucrats have nothing on the capitalist politicians in this country. Republican propagandists are now engaged in as fancy a whitewash job on the Administration's record on school desegregation as the Communist Party hacks are doing in disclaiming their party's responsibility for the betrayal of the workers' cause by Stalin.

The central lie of the Republican election campaign is that the Administration's record and program deserve the support of all foes of segregation; that support of the conservative elephant is an effective way to protest against the Democratic jackass.

The source of the campaign myth is the fact that it happened to be during the Eisenhower term of office that the U.S. Supreme Court was compelled to recognize that racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional.

The belated recognition that Jim Crow schools belie the democratic propaganda line of the U.S. State Department abroad was forced on the court by the combined pressure of the American Negroes and the revolutionary colonial masses of Asia and Africa.

But the Republican Administration did intervene in shaping the Supreme Court's decision, and should be given full credit: the Eisenhower regime is directly responsible for the built-in nullifiers of the anti-segregation ruling.

The Justice Department recommendations, signed by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., urged that control and enforcement of desegregation be returned to the local districts, and that the lower courts judge whether the school boards desegregate "as expeditiously as the circumstances permit."

The Supreme Court adopted the recommendation of the Administration. Control and enforcement of the desegregation process were turned over to the Jim Crow local courts. The basis was provided in the very wording of the decision, for practically unlimited stalling.

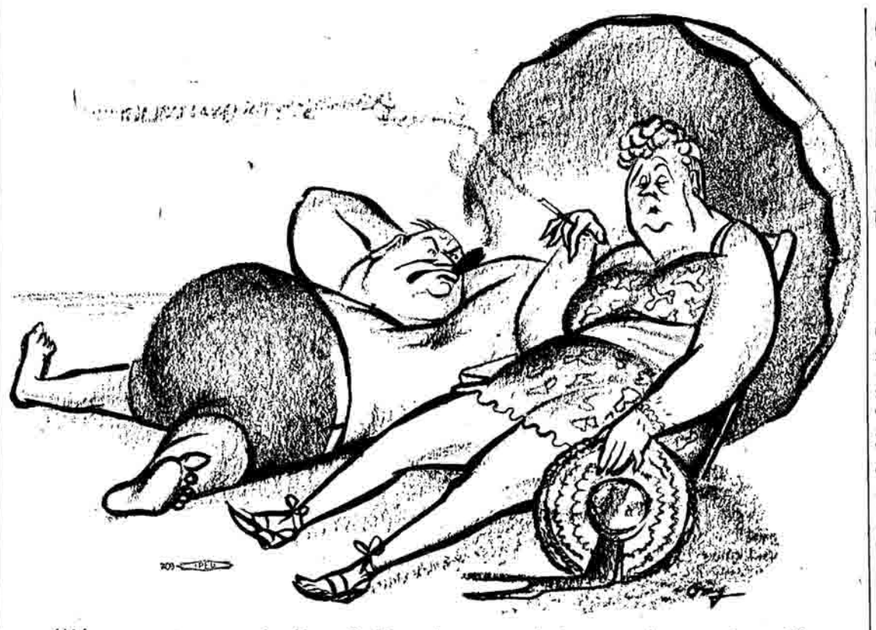
The result is well-known. Brazen contempt for the law by the white supremacists of Dixie. An open campaign of economic, social and political persecution and physical violence against all Negro demands for equal rights.

Brownell's brief had the full support of Eisenhower, who previously told reporters at a press conference on Nov. 23, 1954, that "decentralizing desegregation" was being explored.

"Decentralizing desegregation" was entirely consistent with the Republican policies of decentralization in other fields: in labor legislation and enforcement of standards, control was turned back to the most reactionary local authorities; in public power and property, to private interests directly or through the states; in public housing, to administrators frankly opposed to public housing.

That's the record of the Republicans. That, and the refusal to lift a finger to protect the rights of the Negro victims of vicious terrorism in Mississippi and elsewhere throughout the country.

The Socialist Workers Party — not the Republican Party — is the alternative to Eastland and his Democratic Party in 1956.



"I've got my belly full of complaints about layoffs and speed-up."

Survey Reveals Flaws in Jobless Pay Plan in Auto

By C. Thomas

When Walter Reuther, president of the AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers Union, first proclaimed the Guaranteed Annual Wage as the prime goal in the 1955 negotiations for a new contract, it was made to appear as a relatively simple proposition. The words "Guaranteed Annual Wage" seemed to be self-explanatory. The demand as presented to the delegates of the 1953 UAW convention was for a guaranteed yearly wage based upon earnings computed on the basis of a 40-hour week for 52 weeks.

FROM GAW TO SUB

That's the way Reuther's GAW plan was understood when it went into the hopper. When it came out, in the form of a contract agreement, there was only the faintest resemblance to the original plan. **So much so that the designation was changed from GAW to SUB (Supplementary Unemployment Benefit.) It was cut from 52 to 26 weeks. Instead of the simple proposition of a GAW the terms embodied in SUB seem to have been concocted by a Philadelphia lawyer on a lost week-end.**

A special report in the May 20 New York Times attempts to unravel the SUB plan as it applies under present conditions of mounting unemployment in the auto industry. To begin with, payments under the SUB do not begin until after June 1. Only those laid off after May 2 are eligible for benefits.

"The benefit payments," says the report, "when combined with state unemployment compensation, will bring a worker's income to a maximum of 65 per cent of his weekly take-home pay for the first four weeks of layoff after a waiting week. For the next twenty-two weeks or portion of that period in which he continues to be eligible, the laid-off worker will get combined benefits totaling 60 per cent of his take-home pay.

"The plan is financed by contributions of 5 cents for each hour worked by each employe. These contributions go into special trust funds.

"In actual practice, most of those who qualify for benefits next month will not get more than three of four weeks of benefits. That's because the duration of benefits is based on a workers' seniority, the trust fund position at the time of layoff and the number of credit units the individual has acquired through weeks worked."

In an effort to make clear how the plan works in practice the N. Y. Times report uses the following illustration:

"Take the case of a General Motors worker with a wife and two children who has been employed in the assembly plant in Tarrytown, N. Y. Assume his hourly rate of pay to be $2.10 and that he is laid off June 1.

"His weekly base pay would be $84. But he would have $7.78 withheld in income taxes and Social Security, leaving a weekly take-home pay of $76.22. Under the plan he will be entitled theoretically to 65 per cent of this take-home pay, or $49.54, for his first four weeks of layoff after waiting a week.

"In New York State he will get $36 of this from the state unemployment benefits. The rest, or $13.54, will be paid by the General Motors trust fund in supplementary benefits. In Michigan, where he would get $42 in state benefits, he would get only $7.54 in supplementary aid. His total would still be $49.54.

"After the four-week period he would get only 60 per cent of his take-home pay, or $46.73. Supplementary benefits will be reduced correspondingly while state benefits remain constant.

"The duration of the benefit is computed in this way: If he has less than ten years seniority, he gets one-quarter of a credit for each week worked for General Motors since June 6, 1955. That means he would have fifteen credit units when he completed work June 1.

"Assume that the Tarrytown worker has three years seniority at the time of his layoff. With the trust fund position about 25 per cent of maximum at present, credit units would be canceled for this man at the rate of 3.33 units for each weekly supplementary benefit. That means thirteen credit units divided by 3.33. This would equal 3.9 weeks during which he could receive supplementary benefits.

"A worker must apply for unemployment compensation first. When he receives his first check he must go to his place of employment and apply for the supplementary benefit. He will have to show his state check or a receipt for cash received to prove his eligibility.

"Under this procedure a worker would not receive his first supplementary benefit until the end of the third week or beginning of the fourth week of his unemployment.

Reuther acclaimed SUB as a victory for the GAW "in principle." From the above explanation one can gather there was more shadow than substance — or, if Reuther prefers, more "principle" than benefits.

...Jobless Total Mounts

(Continued from page 1)

situation and prevent its worsening or recurrence."

"Faith and good will" never got anything for the auto workers yet. What makes Reuther think it will be any different now? And as for "wisdom, the practical intelligence and the tools," that is the responsibility of the union leaders. Reuther has the "tools" he asked for — the so-called Guaranteed Annual Wage. It was primarily a product of his "wisdom and practical intelligence." And the GAW goes into effect on June 1. Despite the appeal from Reuther the corporations continue their layoff program.

In effect, the corporations are telling Reuther, we gave you the GAW. You said it would provide a solution to such problems as have now arisen in the industry. Now it's your baby! The corporations are proceeding according to plan. The Wall Street Journal reports that, "supplementary unemployment benefit plans will soon be in for their first tests, starting June 4 at Big Three companies." (See article on SUB on page four of this issue.)

PROMISES AND WARNINGS

Events are confirming the warnings issued by auto union militants at the time Reuther launched his highly publicized drive for the so-called Guaranteed Annual Wage. The drive for GAW reached its peak at the Atlantic City UAW convention in March 1953. The convention hall was festooned with signs and placards hailing the GAW as the next big forward step for the UAW. The delegates were dazzled with promises of economic security, full employment or a guaranteed annual income under GAW whether they worked or not.

Reuther was in rare form at the convention. He had just been elected president of the CIO. His machine rode over the opposition. The GAW would be most effective, he said, because it would not depend on the "good will" of the corporations. On the contrary, by hitting them where it hurt most — in the pocket book — the GAW would make it more profitable for management to keep their employees working than paying them for not working. Therefore, he affirmed, the employers would be compelled to regularize employment and production, eliminate layoffs and shutdowns, and at long last bring economic security and well-being to the auto workers.

The same convention affirmed the principle of the living agreement. Reuther painted so glowing a picture of the millenium under GAW that his resolutions committee brought in a most amazing document. For the first time in the history of the UAW they brought in a resolution against 30 for 40. The resolution stigmatized those who advocated a reduction in hours with no reduction in pay as "communists, fellow-travellers, opportunists and demagogues." Thus armed with his "tools," a product of his "wisdom and practical intelligence," Reuther went into negotiations with the auto barons.

CHANCE FOR BIG GAINS

For five years the UAW had been tied up with a long term agreement. The convention vowed: Never again! The negotiations occurred at a most favorable time for the auto union. The Korean war had ended. Auto production was booming. The Big Three were locked in competitive battle for the auto market. The union membership was in a militant mood—having gone through five years of killing speed-up and a deterioration of working conditions. The opportunity was ripe for significant gains in wages, hours, welfare benefits and working conditions.

But Reuther was obsessed with GAW. Because of his rivalry with Steel Workers president David McDonald over the CIO presidency, his prestige required that he be the "first" to achieve the GAW. **Sacrificing the possibility of real and substantial gains, Reuther settled for an emasculated GAW which he hailed as a victory "in principle." Instead of the promised guaranteed annual income he got the 26-week Supplementary Unemployment Benefits plan. And to cap it all he signed another long-term agreement, this time for three years.**

Reuther was so sold on the idea of continued prosperity under American capitalism that he had no hesitation in gambling the welfare of his membership against his faith in the capitalist system. Thus, with the unemployment crisis deepening, the trust funds set up under the SUB plan are only 25 per cent complete. Most of the workers laid off will get nothing. The others will get a few dollars per week for a few weeks. **And now all Reuther can think of is to invite management to a hearts-and-flowers gab-fest to impress upon them their "moral obligation" to do the right thing. Its like asking a ravening wolf to act like a lap dog!**

An Anti-Militarist Novel

REVOLT OF GUNNER ASCH. By Hans Hellmut Kirst. Little, Brown Publishers, Boston, 1956. 311 pp., $3.95. Vol. I (Original German title, Zero Eight Fifteen.)

By Trent Hutter

This is one of the most remarkable books to come from Germany since World War II. The author, Hans Hellmut Kirst, knew life intimately in the Wehrmacht: and describes it truthfully, with a good deal of humor, excellent satire, a warm feeling for mankind and an underlying seriousness that is ever present. He is aware of the dangers brought about by today's German re-militarization, by the increased influence of the old reactionaries, the political bankrupts of yesteryear; and he warns his fellow-Germans not to repeat the mistakes of the past, to avoid militarism, nationalism, and war, to reject the principle of unquestioning, stupid discipline upon which the old German army was built.

Kirst was born in East Prussia, in 1914. "In 1933 (when Hitler seized power —T.H.) I was 18," he says, "and a dumb kid. In 1945, when I was 31, I was not much smarter, but almost an old man." After high-school, he first worked at a big country estate; then he was a soldier until the end of World War II when he had attained the rank of First Lieutenant. After the war he became a road-mender, then a gardener; and finally started writing.

TEACHING THE YOUTH

His writing talent is obvious. It reminds us somewhat of the late Hans Fallada, the great master of social realism in modern German literature. Kirst mentions he would have liked to become a teacher. For some time he indeed was a teacher — at the military college of the German Air Force. But now he has become another kind of teacher in the broadest sense of the word — telling the young generation who didn't go through military service under Nazi rule what it was like, telling a gripping, suspenseful story, too; for "08/15" wouldn't be a good novel without an interesting story that makes the reader wonder all the time what will happen next.

It's a story full of real people — alive and unforgettable. Kirst pretends it isn't his own story; but we cannot help noticing that his "hero" (or one of his heroes), Herbert Asch, must be very close to him and parallels his own military career. If Kirst did not think like Asch in the early stage of the Hitler regime, he later did acquire the same critical, uncorrupted, sober way of looking at the Wehrmacht and the Nazi State . . . All the persons he writes about are people he met or would have liked to meet in his military career, he declares.

This is no black-and-white painting, although the author is unequivocal in his hostility to Nazism and war, in his opposition to the useless sacrifice of human lives in the name of nebulous ideals that are merely a facade for the material appetite of the rulers.

But Kirst knows that in a big group of people like the army you are bound to meet various human types: vicious tyrants, "correct" but narrow-minded red-tape enthusiasts, opportunists, irresponsible careerists, personally decent and sincere but misguided idealists, — and fine fellows with a sharp mind.

He explains the mechanism of an imperialist army far better than a Norman Mailer who gave an impressive but one-sided account in "The Naked And The Dead," wrongly inferring that all officers were stupid. It isn't that simple.

Kirst comes much closer to a profound analysis of the forces, interests and impulses that make a war machine function. He avoids over-simplification and understands the complexity of it all, even if he abstains from a thorough illustration of the political and social causes of fascism and imperialism in general; this was not the book's purpose; for it is a novel which deals with their effect on Germany, and a novel about the Wehrmacht in particular. The author merely kept within the limits he set himself, writing about the things he actually knew and experienced. "08/15" does not have the scope and profundity of Faulkner's "Fable"; but it is another type of novel altogether, and a very enjoyable and necessary one, too.

GERMAN BEST SELLER

Kirst divided "08/15" into three volumes, the story told in each volume covering six days. The first volume's story is set in a military camp in Germany, in August, 1938; the second one is in 1942 on the Russian front; the last one is again in Germany, near and in the same garrison as volume I, in the last days of World War II.

The novel is Germany's biggest post-war best-seller despite (or, partly, because of?) attacks directed against it by the same reactionaries Kirst so uncompromisingly condemns, the same who praise the "eternal glory of the German soldier" and the "educational value of military service" in order to prepare a new German imperialism.

Kirst's enemies only prove how good a job he has done. Fortunately, and this is significant, the majority of his German readers seem to like the book very much. (It has been made into a motion picture, too.) And we think American readers will find it equally rewarding and exciting, all the more so because the accidental death of six U. S. marines at Parris Island, caused by the orders of a brutal sergeant, again shows that the problem of military drill and total, absurd obedience is not restricted to Germany.

Our Readers Take the Floor

What is Automation?

In his letter, printed in the April 16 Militant, L. M. criticizes my analysis that automation by itself does not represent a "Second Industrial Revolution." He claims that "the First Industrial Revolution is defined simply as that part of the capitalist process in which muscular power of the worker was replaced with the mechanical application of power in a machine. . . The Second Industrial Revolution represents a process by which the individual machines, factories are successively combined to form one machine — up to the point where the entire productive economy becomes 'one machine.'"

L. M. is mistakenly accepting the narrow, limited and therefore erroneous definition of the engineers who assume that technical developments can supersede the social process. Some engineers even go to the extreme of claiming that the "Second Industrial Revolution," automation, can counteract the capitalist crisis and convert today's rotten economic base into a dynamic expanding economy.

The incorrectness of this approach can easily be established if we examine the "first" Industrial Revolution. Was it solely the technical inventions that caused a revolution in production and brought forward modern capitalism? Or was it the complex social development — the opening of world trade and production of commodities for the world market, the growth of large scale industry, **the rise of the capitalist** class and its antithesis, the proletariat, etc. — that caused a revolution in class relations and instituted the new system of capitalist production? To separate out one feature, the qualitative technical leap in production, as the motive force of the Industrial Revolution distorts the dialectical interrelation of all the factors. This can lead to a number of errors.

If L. M. wishes to term the Second Industrial Revolution, in which automation will play a key role but not the only one, as an integral part of the socialist revolution then we are in agreement. In his letter he arrives somehow at that conclusion when he writes "The program of the Second Industrial Revolution is the Industrial Program of the Socialist Revolution."

As I demonstrated in my articles, automation serves to accelerate every contradiction of capitalism, and provides another new and powerful incentive for its overthrow. Automation can never have any general application under capitalism which would go into its death throes long before such a stage can be reached. Under a Workers and Farmers Government, however, the workers can rapidly make the transition to an automated productive system based on nationalized industry and production for use. Then we will be able to say that the Second Industrial Revolution, as an integral part of the Socialist Revolution, will be achieved.

Robert Chester

...N. Y. MEET HAILS NEGRO HEROES

(Continued from page 1)

and to form a political alliance to defeat the Dixiecrats and the WCC's.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP said that the federal government cannot remain neutral any longer, that it is the duty of the Chief Executive to intervene in the South. He said both the Democratic and Republican parties "must adopt strong civil rights platforms and statements in the platforms to implement them." Wilkins said Congress "must do something before adjournment, and the size of the something they do could determine the size of the votes that the candidates get from Negroes."

Then Gus Courts told his story. He and some friends in Belzoni, Miss., tried to get Negroes to register to vote. His friend Rev. George Lee was the first Negro to put his name in the voters book, and he, Gus Courts was the second. "Of course, this marked us both for death," he said. The day after Rev. Lee was killed, the local racists came around to see Courts. They told him about Lee, and told him to remove his name from the book. "No, I guess I'll be just like he was. I'll die a hero too," he had told the whites.

Later Courts was shot, but he recovered from the shotgun blast that hit him, and now, he told the meeting, "I travel around everywhere telling Negroes to join the NAACP."

Dr. T. M. Howard of Mount Bayou, Miss., said, "I consider the WCC to be the number one internal threat to our nation." He said only 19,000 out of a population of 980,000 Negroes **in Mississippi are allowed to** vote. "That's why I say to our government: let's stop going to Geneva and so on, talking about free elections in Germany and other places, until we get free elections here!" The crowd cheered.

"I was a personal friend of those men who were killed in Mississippi, Lee and Smith. I feel strongly about this. I say its time to stop going overseas talking about man's inhumanity to man until we put an end to it in Mississippi. . . **The President should issue an ultimatum withholding ALL Federal money from the South. . . . Some of us are timid when it comes to talk of sending troops . . . Well, we have not hesitated to send troops around the world," he said. The crowd cheered wildly.**

Eleanor Roosevelt spoke briefly and then interviewed Autherine Lucy. The young Negro woman told the story of her 5-year long fight to enter Alabama University. She said that in spite of the fearful memory of the racist mob action against her, and of the defiance of all court orders by the university, she would re-enroll next September.

The speech of Representative Adam Clayton Powell contained a heavy attack on the Eisenhower administration. He mentioned the Democrats only once when he said, "As for the Republicans and Democrats, frankly, there is not much difference between them."

He accused the armed forces of attempting to reinstitute segregation. He called this "complete insubordination" and said "the leaders of our armed forces tonight are guilty of treason."

Then he read from a number of orders issued by various commanders in the Armed Forces reinstituting segregation. He said he received the "original copies" of these orders from men in the services. "I call on all members of U.S. armed forces to keep sending me these original orders," he said.

The last speaker was E. D. Nixon, one of the leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association. The meeting had started at 7 P.M. and it was midnight when Nixon took the floor His speech was brief. "The Montgomery Improvement Association is like the rock of Gibraltar," he said, and sat down.

Bound Volume of THE MILITANT

Volume One, Number One of The Militant appeared Nov. 15, 1928. It exposed and attacked the growing Stalin dictatorship in the Soviet Union and raised high the banner of revolutionary socialism through support to the Trotskyist Left Opposition in Russia.

Early volumes are available only in libraries and as collecters' items. Available bound volumes begin with the year 1942, when The Militant — promoting the same Leninist, class struggle principles as in 1928 — fought against Wall Street's imperialist war. Its pages defend the Soviet Union and the colonial revolution, oppose the no-strike pledge at home and defend the living standards of the American workers against sky-rocketing profits.

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